

Social Questions

BULLETIN

of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, a membership organization which seeks to deepen within the Church the sense of social obligation and opportunity to study, from the Christian point of view, social problems and their solution; and to promote social action in the spirit of Jesus. The Federation rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society and seeks to replace it with social-economic planning to develop a society without class or group discriminations and privileges.

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Coal Miners Want Security

Half a million coal miners have stopped work for security, and an American living standard.

WELFARE FUND—The United Mine Workers Welfare and Retirement Fund precipitated the stoppage. Fund income fell earlier due to slackening coal production. Industry failure to negotiate a new wage agreement this summer led John L. Lewis to try the "three-day work week"—a half strike. This also cut the Fund's income. Simultaneously, certain southern coal operators stopped Fund payments, but curiously observed other conditions of the old wage agreement. They doubtless felt the Fund would be embarrassed or bankrupted without royalties.

On September 16, the Fund trustees voted suspension of benefits effective September 17 as "a temporary expedient." Mr. Lewis, Chairman of the Trustees, and Senator Styles Bridges (R., N. H.) announced this "to protect the sound operations and continuity of the Fund." Three days later came a practically complete mine work stoppage.

HOLD THOSE GAINS—The miners won't go back to the "bad old days" of back-breaking labor with a pittance of recompense. Thrown on the scrapheap at 45 or 50 if they managed to survive mine explosions, rock falls, silicosis and the multitudinous other hazards of the most dangerous of all our basic industries, pensions were a long dream.

Terrorized by "coal and iron police," by deputized strike-breakers and state police, they nevertheless united to build their strong union. In ramshackle "company houses," they dreamed of owning their own homes, even having washing machines to spare their wives hours of drudgery.

The miners want security, shorter hours, higher wages. They hold the industry can and must provide them.

SECURITY—They were on the way to achieving some security with their Fund. Its activities included \$100 monthly to miners with twenty years in the mines and still working in 1946 at age 60. (Judge Goldsborough in activating the Fund found nothing in this measure "to shock the mind.") Miners disabled for thirty days or longer received monthly \$60, if single; \$80 if married, and \$10 per child. (Only 11 per cent drew workmen's compensation.) The miner's widow received \$60 monthly if she had no income from any other source, or up to that amount as maximum if she did. One thousand dollars was paid for funeral expenses, etc., on the miner's death.

Beneficiaries received also medical care payment. They were spared the sapping of finances for prescribed drugs (the most common and expensive is insulin for the diabetics), prescribed nursing, dental, and eye care. The miner also achieved the security of having his family's hospital care provided.

Do we wonder that coal miners undergo a strike's sacrifices to preserve this security system?

SHORTER WORK-DAY—Shorter hours are a demand too. Not that the miner is anxious to work less. He works less than he wants to now, because coal mining is not steady. But productivity per man has more than doubled since 1900; not coal consumption. The coal war boom is over. European markets disappear. Steel, the railroads and power companies have huge stockpiles, a 90-day supply when the slowdown began. Slackening industrial production kept stockpiles at a 70-day supply when the complete strike began. The coal industry rarely works 200 days of the 250 days of a five-day 50-week year. *No work year in the entire 1930's achieved a 200-day average!*

MAINTAIN WAGE LEVEL—The coal miner needs at least the same take-home pay, and therefore asks that the same daily wage be maintained, approximately \$14 or \$1.90 per hour (still below the average carpenter's, bricklayer's, or plumber's). In 1946, the average miner's income totalled only \$2,465 and prices have certainly not fallen. Company profits, however, have been at history's highest level. How much dollars per ton of recent coal price increases can the twenty cent royalty to the Welfare Fund account for? How much difference would a few cents more to the Fund make? The operators give only vague replies.

HUMAN COSTS—The miners demand that security be calculated in the cost of production—that the human costs, as well as the machine costs be included. Labor generally is adopting this philosophy. It is a 20th century version of the battles fought and won in the 19th century—abolition of child labor and the 14-16 hour day, institution of industrial safety and sanitation measures. Maintaining a worker in good health, providing him at least a pittance in disability and a few dollars for the family when he is considered too old to work—these will be part of the basic costs of production. Management always claimed these concepts will bankrupt them. They never have, but if they do the laborers offer to run the industry instead and show how it can be done.

JOINT DEFENSE—Steelworkers are also out on strike to win their demands for minimum security. The mine workers claim the steel industry, which owns the most substantial of the mines, the "captive mines," and which interlocks in its directorates with the coal industry, had no need or desire to see a coal wage agreement. The Mine Workers attempt to achieve a modicum of cooperation in joint defense by the badly split American labor movement.

Whatever that outcome, the coal miner will continue striking for a minimum material sustenance, security, and dignity in his hazardous occupation.

He must wonder why America's conscience does not rally 100 per cent to his defense, since he is defending America's real interests. At least Americans who can look behind distorted press accounts of events must come to his aid.

Behind the Headlines

THE FACE OF FASCISM

How many have seen the face of fascism—U. S. brand—behind the headlines of the past two months? This is a pregnant question, especially for those seeking world peace. Recent history proves the indivisibility of war and fascism.

European fascism grew out of seeds sown by World War I, rooted in remnants of the old imperialism and the newer concentrating capitalism. U. S. fascism is growing from seeds sown by World War II in the remnants of our slave system and in the powerful economic imperialism of our monopolistic industry and consolidated finance. Neither could, nor can, make good its bid for power without drawing the world into war.

Facing this question you think of Peekskill—the obscene anti-semitic and anti-Negro threats of the mob, repeated by some police; the virtual turning over of audience and speakers to post-concert stoning. Underneath these surface expressions, ignored in the reports of officials who by their inaction were participants criminis, was the essence of fascism, the determination to prevent by force and violence the democratic process.

This manifestation of fascism as an historic movement to destroy democracy in order to prevent needed social change has been seen in recent months in other states—Connecticut, New Jersey, Ohio, Illinois, California. It is not, like our pre-war fascism, an imported imitation. It grows out of our own environment. It is not explained as the historic tendency of vanquished to overcome victors by transferring their characteristics. It comes out of the nature of the economy upon which our lives and culture depend for sustenance.

BEHIND THE MOB

Behind the howling of the bestial mob at Peekskill, beside the long incitement of all anti-democratic elements in our differing forms of religion, was direct provocation of a local paper and cultivation of hate that leads to violence by most of the press in its distorted reporting of the Trial of the 12 to the cost of whose defense the meeting proceeds were going. This national press, democratic or anti-democratic in its editorial utterances, is no longer, with a few exceptions, a free interpreter of the current scene. It is a powerful part of big business and high finance and so a defender of its special interests, subverted by its need to prevent extension of democracy to economic relations.

So most reporting and editorial comment on Peekskill brings in the fact that the organization holding the meeting is on Clark's "subversive list," as though this anti-democratic fact explained, if it did not justify, anti-democratic violence.

Behind it is the bigger fact that our political democracy is no longer free to combat the anti-democratic economic forces who need to destroy or nullify the democratic process. Our government makes shadow-boxing motions against trusts but their partners and lawyers sit in highest offices and exercise determining influence in policies. Our democracy is being subverted into fascism, not by the victories of the special interest lobbies in the present Congress, not by the pressure of the "invisible government" of Woodrow Wilson's day upon law-makers and courts, but by policies made openly by men, long conditioned in terms of the needs of big business and high finance, acting in their lawful capacity. This is our stream-lined fascism, more humane and deceptive than that of those who hired Hitler, some of whom our anti-democratic leaders now restore to power, and expect to control in their own interest.

THE CONTROLLING FORCE

The face of our U. S. fascism is a composite countenance. The lines portraying its controlling power are not those

depicting violent mobs, conniving officials and judges, renegade communists and socialists, tired or confused liberals. For the controlling elements we have to look behind the headlines that spell out the world-changing events occasioned by our foreign policy.

After Peekskill you read about our giving more "help" to Britain by forcing the devaluation of the pound and of the currency of most Western Europe. Did you read that part of the price was the right of U. S. investment finance to enter the British home domain? This is an extension of what the "Marshall Plan" has brought in Western Europe, the enlargement of the economic empire our financiers are seeking to build by the profits of the last war.

This is economic imperialism in its highest stage. "We seek no territory" cry our little politicians, but our big financiers seek and get investment opportunities that put more pressure upon workers overseas and in colonial lands. Almost all "Marshall Plan" countries are colonial powers. They largely live on tribute from primitive labor, kept at a primitive cultural level. Now our leaders impose their tribute on top of that.

Of course, they want the exploitation to be humane. It is to be the "American Century." Those who take the imperial tribute today have the garb of welfare workers. They are sincere! Yet men like this, the Carpenter of Nazareth called wolves in sheep's clothing.

Where it does not brutally repress, this whole system limits the development of the workers. It is therefore essentially anti-democratic—that is, fascist. Different in form from the economic imperialism of the Nazis but not in essence. Wherever it controls our foreign policy it has to seek the aid of anti-democratic forces—in Greece, China, Germany, and now Spain.

Side by side with development of this anti-democratic policy abroad there is chronicled in our press loss of democracy at home. Meetings broken up; "subversive" lists to suppress organizations; loyalty lists on the campus; attempts to censor and purge text books. This is inevitable if economic imperialism is to make our foreign policy. To be anti-democratic abroad, democracy must be limited and repressed at home.

IS POLITICAL DEMOCRACY ENOUGH?

Some of the men who make this foreign policy believe in our political democracy. They do not want, nor condone, repression of the rights to speak, write, listen, read, think, organize. But they can no more prevent the evils of the anti-democratic economic system they administer than humane slaveholders could remove the evils of slavery.

The issue is clear. In our scene, in our terms—it is whether democracy is to be extended from the political to the economic sphere. Only by so growing can it continue to live. If we settle that in good faith with our heritage and our gospel a way will open up to avoid war and fascism. Otherwise there is none.

It is not enough to settle the question in principle. Our loyalty in principle has now to meet its test in action. The basic tests are China, and the trial that seeks to outlaw a body of social and economic thought.

H. F. W.

MEMBERSHIP MEETING

Plan now to attend the national Federation membership meeting, April 12-14, at Asilomar, Pacific Grove, California. More details in December BULLETIN.

Recent Developments in the World Economic Situation

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE WORLD ECONOMIC SITUATION are reported by Secretary General Lie to the current United Nations Assembly on behalf of the Economic and Social Council. The report raises disturbing questions as to the present and future welfare of any peoples living under the dominance of our American economic system.

"Total world industrial production turned downward in 1949 for the first time in the post-war period. The downturn reflected mainly the decline in output in the United States, where the seasonally adjusted index of industrial production fell from a peak of 172 (1937 = 100) in the fourth quarter of 1948 to 154 in the second quarter of 1949."

"In the United States, a general decline in economic activity set in at the end of 1948. In June 1949, non-agricultural employment was lower than a year before by about 2 million and total civilian employment was reduced by about 1.7 million. Unemployment amounted to 3.8 million, or 1.6 million higher than in June 1948.

"The decline in the United States output was widespread, affecting both durable and non-durable goods. Output of coal fell. Steel production was cut back sharply in the second quarter. Machinery output, which had declined somewhat after the first quarter of 1948, decreased more rapidly in the first half of 1949. Total production of transportation equipment also diminished. The drop in United States economic activity and employment resulted from a decline in effective demand."

Factors were, "the decline in the export balance of the United States," "decline in consumption," "gradual reduction by large numbers of consumers of the liquid assets which they had accumulated during the war."

"In the first quarter of 1949, the rate of inventory accumulation slackened considerably, and in the second quarter of 1949 there was an even sharper drop, as inventory accumulation ceased and was replaced by inventory liquidation."

Production outside the United States continued the general post-war advance: "In the U.S.S.R., steel production in the second quarter of 1949 was more than one-fourth above the corresponding period of 1948. Production in Europe, excluding the U.S.S.R., continued to gain significantly, but Italy's output fell below the corresponding period last year, and there was a considerable reduction in output in Belgium-Luxembourg during the second quarter of 1949 as a result of export difficulties. Production of the engineering and chemical industries in Europe, including the U.S.R.R., during the first half of 1949 was still expanding at a rate above average for all industrial output, although it was generally lower than the rate a year ago. With the exception of the western zones of Germany, Italy, and Greece, production in both industries is now well above pre-war. In the U.S.S.R., cotton textiles production increased at a rate of about the same order of magnitude as the average for the rest of Europe."

As to "the slowing down of the rate of increase of world production outside the United States" (for U. S. there was decrease)—several factors are listed, including "decline in demand of importing countries, especially of the United States"; and "inability to obtain adequate imports of materials, machinery and transportation equipment in parts of Latin America, Asia and Eastern Europe." Eastern Europe's inability to buy these needed goods resulted from the cold war and from the U. S. and U. S.-directed embargo against these Communist-led Socialist countries. Had our government not imposed this embargo, eastern European countries would have bought the goods to speed up their industrialization and raise their living standards. This would have promoted the welfare of our eastern neighbors, but also ourselves, since it obviously would have increased the market for U. S. goods and both employment and production in our country—cushioning the threatening economic recession which began here at the year's beginning.

Despite the embargo against our eastern European neighbors, economic conditions in Eastern Europe are described as healthy in this current United Nations report: "In eastern

Europe there was considerable increase in economic activity and a rise in industrial consumer supplies. Prices fell significantly in the U.S.S.R., Poland and Czechoslovakia; in the latter country, the rations of textiles and footwear were increased. In the U.S.S.R., the supply of food increased by 15 per cent from the second quarter of 1948 to the corresponding quarter in 1949, and official prices of major foodstuffs were reduced in March 1949 by 10 per cent."

This significant drop in prices of most consumer goods in eastern countries, contrasts somewhat with conditions reported in some western countries tied to the United States. Though the report cites general "reduction of inflationary pressures in western Europe," it points out that "prices still rose slightly in the United Kingdom"; and "The recent devaluation will increase prices still further." In a further more general reference to the probable effects of U. S.-stimulated devaluation, Mr. Lie warns, "However, it is likely that in the coming months the cost of living will tend to rise and real wages will tend to fall, especially in those countries which depend to a considerable extent on imports of foods and other necessities from the United States and other 'dollar countries.'"

The report does not suggest any parallel in eastern socialist Europe for the sharp rise in unemployment which began in the United States this year. But a parallel is indicated for certain western countries financially tied to the United States—and this despite the fact that in Europe as a whole—West as well as East—production has continued to rise: "in Western Europe . . . total employment has not materially increased because the rise in output has been associated with widespread increases in labor productivity. Unemployment has generally risen. This situation is exemplified especially in Belgium and the western zones of Germany, where high levels of unemployment appeared despite a rise in the general level of output. In Italy unemployment has been high throughout the post-war years." We can note that Belgium, western Germany, and Italy are part of the Marshall Plan, that Belgium and Italy are also included in the benefits (?) of the Atlantic Pact. These facts and plans do not seem to have delivered the participant peoples from the difficulties which have been historic parts of the profit economy. In Italy, as the United States, even industrial production has dropped, despite the acute human need for *higher* production and *higher* living standards. "Italy experienced her second post-war decline in industrial production in the fourth quarter of 1948 and first quarter of 1949."

Have your newspapers and other information channels brought to your attention these important contemporary facts?

J. R. M.

In Your Papers?

In Brooklyn, N. Y., during the strike of 7,000 members of the Brewery Workers Union (CIO), through a "Doctors' Committee to Aid Strikers," 600 doctors and dentists gave their services free to the strikers and their families. This group was headed by and includes some nationally known specialists. They were surprised at the amount of unrecognized and unhelped sickness they found, and the sufferers got a kind of treatment they never could have paid for.

The International Labor Organization reports "that the general unemployment curve in Western Europe since the Marshall Plan began has been and continues upward."

The *N. Y. Daily News*, claiming the largest circulation in the nation, writes: "The Japs are another people who like to fight . . . why not rearm Japan . . . while we're rearming Germany."

that all men might be free

"We hold . . . self-evident that all men . . . are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights . . . among these . . . liberty." (Declaration of Independence).

"Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble. . . ."—First article in the Bill of Rights, part of the Constitution of the United States of America.

"It (the Bill of Rights) is the corner-stone on which our cultural and spiritual values meet. It is a constant reminder that once we strike down the expression of ideas that we despise we have forged an instrument for the suppression of ideas we cherish. For history has shown that once persecution is loosed on one minority, it spreads like a blight."—William O. Douglas, Supreme Court Justice.

The words are true and apt. Persecution is being loosed on one minority in our land today. There is a powerful effort "to strike down the expression of ideas." All of us, not just the Communists, are endangered. The persecution "loosed on one minority" already "spreads like a blight." This is recognized by students of American liberties today. It is amply documented in the Annual 1949 Report of the highly respectable American Civil Liberties Union.

Here is the basic issue in the trial of the Communist leaders. Neither in the indictment nor during the trial has any charge or evidence been offered that a single defendant has committed a single overt act of violence, except that some defendants served in America's armed forces in the war. The defendants and prosecution gave different versions of the defendants' ideas. But it was about Marxist-Leninist ideas that the whole dispute in the courtroom raged. The defendants are in jail, under heavy sentence, because of the jury's estimate of the nature of their philosophy. In this unusual case, ideas—a philosophy—were put on trial.

On trial also was a minority political party. The ideas spread by this party were in dispute. But ideas of political parties should be judged at the polls, not in courtrooms. We Americans can and do vote down minority party candidates and programs. But it is utterly alien to our cherished traditions or minority parties to be outlawed or prevented from competing for our votes. As Roger Baldwin put it for the ACLU: "The ACLU opposed the Smith Act in Congress . . . urged in the court the dismissal of the indictment of the Communists on the ground that any federal law penalizing expressions of political opinion, however, extreme, is unconstitutional."

"Nothing in the trial has changed our view. No overt criminal acts were proved. The conviction rests solely on expressions of political opinion. Appeal will, of course, be taken. The Union will again urge upon the higher courts the unconstitutionality of the Smith Act."

"If it and the conviction stand, the logical consequence is the outlawry of the Communist Party, a departure from historic American principles, destructive of democratic process."

The undemocratic nature of the indictment and trial arises from the anti-democratic nature of the Smith Act of 1940 under which the indictments were brought. Under that Act it is illegal to advocate or conspire to advocate certain ideas. Individuals or parties can be severely punished under that Act if the jury is but persuaded that the proscribed ideas were advocated.

No jury should have such power. Our Founding Fathers made no exception when they wrote into our Constitution that "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging freedom" to advocate ideas. Not only should minorities, however unpopular, be free to present ideas; but the people, all of us, should be free to consider all ideas, and to do so free from intimidation. When we defend a minority's right to advocate, we defend our own right to listen, read, think. No judge should be able to send men to jail in our democratic land, merely for the advocacy of ideas.

The Jury's verdict is in. The Judge has imposed maximum sentence on 10 defendants (\$10,000 plus 5 years in prison) and heavy sentence on the eleventh (\$10,000 plus 3 years in prison). The slight mitigation of the latter's sentence may come from his honored, life-risking war service. There is another trial and possible sentence pending against all defendants—the charge simply that they have been Communist Party members. The defendants appealed to a higher court. Despite this legal appeal the Judge had all the defendants immediately imprisoned, and has denied them any bail. He also sentenced all defense lawyers to prison, including one defendant who was his own counsel. During the trial three defendants were imprisoned without bail.

The government has brought five prosecutions under the Smith Act, since its enactment in 1940. In no other case have anything like maximum sentences been imposed. One case concerned William Dudley Pelley and 29 other American Fascists, Klu Klux Klan supporters, anti-semites, white racists. They and their lawyers (some were their own counsel) resorted to loud rowdyism during the trial, used as a sounding board for their racism and anti-semitism. The pro-Hitler American fascists were charged with sedition during the war. The indictment against the Communists concerns only the post-war period—the period of "Cold War" against the U. S. S. R. and Communism. The Communist Party has existed for decades and has always propagated the same Marxist-Leninist ideas. If the indictments are valid they have been valid since 1940 when the Smith Act was passed. But they were only brought by the Truman Administration in mid-1948. The "cold war" was intense. It was election year with both parties viewing in "anti-communism." These were Cold War indictments, a Cold War trial.

The prosecution has been vigorous, the sentences severe. In the trial of the American Fascists for wartime sedition, neither defendants nor lawyers were sentenced. In fact (under Attorney General Clark from Texas, who had other more leftist and anti-racist enemies to pursue) the trial was dropped "for lack of prosecution." We mention this not to justify any trial under the infamous, unconstitutional Smith Act, but to show the contrast between our Government's attitude towards Communists and progressives on one hand and towards Fascists and reactionaries on the other. In our zone in Germany former Nazis and anti-semites are returning to influence and power. The Army excludes draftees who have associated with "communist" and progressive organizations on Mr. Clark's "subversive" list, but accepts members of the also listed Klan and Fascist organizations. Our commercial, profit-motivated press and radio whip us into hysterical fever

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about the "red menace," while the actual domestic encroachments of Reaction and Fascism go largely unnoticed, unopposed.

Current anti-Communist hysteria plays havoc with our democratic liberties, as the Civil Liberties Union Report clearly shows. It endangers and hurts many besides Communists. Our Government bars a distinguished Canadian professor from the U. S. A highly respectable American college campus has to drop his important course. The professor had belonged to Canada's moderately socialist, anti-communist Cooperative Commonwealth Federation Party—akin to Thomas's Socialist Party here. F. B. I. documents are admitted in the Judith Coplon trial which describe as an "outstanding Communist Party fellow-traveller" Methodism's distinguished Daniel Marsh, President of Boston University and a Republican elector on the Massachusetts ballot last year. These are two of countless examples of the extreme, absurd, and dangerous extent of anti-Communist hysteria. To return to Justice Douglas, the persecution "loosed on one minority" already "spreads like a blight."

In this Cold War against Communism we follow a "scorched-earth" policy. Fearful lest Communists destroy our civil liberties, we destroy them ourselves; so that if the Communists arrive there will be no liberties left for them to capture.

The hysteria which brought this trial in the first place imperilled chances for a true and just verdict, even within the anti-democratic framework of indictments and trial—against ideas and their advocacy. Arthur G. Hays said liberal non-Communists have little or no chance for a fair trial today when emotionally-charged "communism" is brought in. How can Communist Party leaders get fair trial when the emotionally charged ideas of Communism are the issue?

First phase of this important trial is over. The Jury verdict is in; the Judge imposed his heavy sentences. But juries can be wrong, especially in times of hysteria. Not every courtroom verdict is just. We Christians remember Pilate's sentence against Jesus. We Americans remember the verdicts against Sacco and Vanzetti, Mooney and Billings, other working Lowly, and countless unnamed Negro men and women suffering class justice and discrimination in courtrooms day after day since slavery. Friends of Jefferson were unjustly imprisoned under the Alien and Sedition Acts in hysteria against the French Revolution and its friends, like today's hysteria against the Russian Revolution and its friends.

Wide hysteria against Communism and Communists made it important to assure the Communist defendants an unbiased jury. An unbiased jury is basic in Anglo-Saxon justice and American judicial procedure, even for most heinous criminals. Our cherished judicial heritage has no guilt by association; guilt is strictly personal, must be proven; every accused individual must be presumed innocent by each juror and judge until clearly proven guilty. Every juror should be unbiased and emotionally able to make that basic presumption. But consider this photostatic Macon (Ga.) Telegraph article last February 22:

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in Macon about 8:30 p.m. yesterday.

He will speak as a part of the local Brotherhood-Week program of the National Conference on Religion and Law.

There can be no compromise or "tolerance" between Communism and democracy the author said.

"Communism," said Janney, "breeds on intolerance. People

who want Communism should go to Russia and live."

Janney thinks that "we're already fighting a war with Communism and it should be a fight to death."

The NEW YORKER, who has toured the country as a producer, said his MIRACLE OF THE BELLS "is no great literary accomplishment." What he likes most about the book is the faith and hope people from all walks of life tell him the book

fighting a war with Communism and it should be a fight to the death." Such sentiments are popular today. We do not here quarrel with Mr. Janney as to their validity. We accept his right to hold and express them. We emphatically declare, however, that such strong, set views against Communism and Communists, hardly make him an unbiased juror in the Communist trial. But he was sworn in as an allegedly unbiased juror less than a month after his public, publicized statements. The Judge would not disqualify Janney, expressed satisfaction with his answers to these questions asked all jurors: "Have you formed an opinion or impression concerning the guilt or innocence of any of the defendants of the crime charged. . . ? Have you at any time made contributions to, or been associated in any way with business or religious organizations, or organizations of any character, whose officers or representatives have made any expressions of . . . opposition or hostility to Communists or Communism in general . . . ? Have you . . . bias or prejudice against . . . any of the defendants or Communists in general or the Communist party, whatever its aims and purposes may be . . . ?" The liberal newspaper, *Daily Compass*, reported other extremely biased statements made in crowded elevators, etc., during the trial itself, when Mr. Janney and all jurors were under court instructions not to read about the case or discuss it. The *Compass* cited sworn statements to accuracy of its report. But the Judge still rejected request to replace Janney by an alternate.

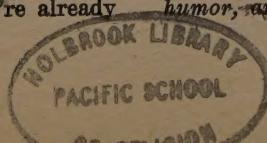
Federationists may want to study the conduct of the trial and of the trial judge, to see whether press accounts have been accurate and adequate—in view of the strongly anti-communist slant of most "Cold War" news reporting. You may supplement newspapers by studying the abstract of the court Record, "prepared by attorneys who examined more than 13,000 pages of the Record (to learn) whether the press reports were substantiated." This abstract was sent by Sullivan County, Indiana, Circuit Court Judge Norval K. Harris, Co-Chairman of the National Non-Partisan Committee to Defend the Rights of the 12 Communist Leaders. Judge Harris believes "it raises serious questions in relation to the administration of justice." It is available without charge, and you can secure a copy by sending us a postcard request.

The jailing of defendants and lawyers, reminds us of Canon 15 in *Canons of Professional Ethics*: "The lawyer owes 'entire devotion to the interest of the client, warm zeal in maintenance and defense of his rights and exertion of his utmost learning and ability,' that nothing be taken or withheld from him, save by rules of law, legally applied. No fear of judicial disfavor or public unpopularity should restrain him from full discharge of duty. In the judicial forum the client is entitled to any and every remedy and defense authorized by the law of the land, and he may expect his lawyer to assert every such remedy or defense."

Defense preparation of its case before the higher courts is severely hampered by imprisonment of the lawyers and of the defendants without bail. Punishment of defense lawyers may discourage others from defending unpopular clients in the future. But in our rich democratic past great lawyers have arisen to champion civil liberties and vigorously defend unpopular clients. Wendell Willkie took without fee the case of the Communist, Scheiderman, and won it before the Supreme Court. We have lost Mr. Willkie, but not perhaps his spirit. Such lawyers might appear again, with similar results.

If the defense carries its costly case on to higher courts and the infamous Smith Act is declared unconstitutional—the victory will not be simply for 11 individuals, but for American democracy and for the American democratic way of life. As put by the strongly anti-Communist *New Republic* in its post-trial editorial: "The Communist trial has been a disaster, or, rather, part of a long-continued and mounting disaster in which millions of Americans, under the whip of fear, are losing much of their sense of proportion, their sense of humor, and their adherence to democratic principles. It is

This Communist trial juror, Russell Janney, spoke in Georgia under anti-communist auspices. He made public, publicized statements, "There can be no compromise or 'tolerance' between Communism and democracy"; "People who want Communism should go to Russia and live"; "We're already



the American people who have now suffered a defeat, a defeat from which only the Supreme Court can rescue us."

Meanwhile all of us should see and urge our recessed Congressmen and Senators to repeal the anti-democratic law on which the trial is based. For, as our Methodist Bishops warned at General Conference, ideas cannot be beaten down with a club. We can imprison men, but not their philosophy. Ideas can be defeated only by better ideas evoking better, more democratic practice.

Many non-Communists have spoken out on the issues in this important case. "Twenty-two members of the Los Angeles Democratic County Committee and five other party officials in California petitioned President Truman to drop the charges against the Communist leaders. A study of American history the petitioners say points up the trial as 'the 20th-century expression' of the Alien and Sedition Laws to subdue the philosophy of Thomas Jefferson." O. John Rogge, former Asst. U. S. Attorney General pointed out "these men were not convicted for one single act of violence, but only for teaching ideas," and termed the trial "expression of emerging reaction hostile to the letter and spirit of the fundamental American freedoms of speech, press and assembly." From Madison, Wisconsin, comes a group statement sent U. S. Attorney General McGrath opposing "attacks upon Communists as dangerous to American civil liberties." Heading the protest were Prof. William G. Rice, legal attorney at Wisconsin University and Prof. E. A. Ross, National Chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union. The St. Louis Post-Dispatch condemned the Smith Act as unconstitutional and the verdict as threatening "reign of terror for all. . . . Punish the Communists for their ideas and we open the way to punish others with less cause or no cause at all." The St. Louis Star-Times took a similar stand: "The fence of prohibition has been narrowed around civil liberties. . . . More than once, similar rules have been proposed for the U. S. They have always been swept aside because the American people were not afraid to speak their minds." Courageous Catholics also spoke out on the issues of the trial and condemned the verdict. Three editors of the *Catholic Worker*—Dorothy Day, Irene Naughton, and Robert Ludlow—stated: "We respect our

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Nehru Repudiates Arms Race and Cold War

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and his Congress Party have conflicted with segments of India's labor movement and with the Socialist and smaller Communist Parties. Predominant influence in the Congress government is capitalist. That government chose to remain in the British Commonwealth, despite the many years of bitter colonial oppression which India's people suffered in the Empire. Currently, Mr. Nehru visits President Truman and confers with leaders of our government which heads the "cold war" against communism. These facts led many (both leftists and rightists) to predict that Nehru's India would be persuaded to supplant Chiang's China as "our" great Asiatic "bulwark against communism," as major Asiatic ally in our "holy crusade." Mr. Nehru defied and disproved these predictions in his great speech at Columbia University. He strongly repudiated the world-splitting arms race and cold war, promised that India would not participate. He described the real causes of modern war and real threats to global peace—mankind's greatest need. His address should be read in full by every Federationist and can be secured from MFSA. In effect, he repudiates our U. S. foreign policy and its underlying philosophy and tenets. The spirit and thesis of his speech are in the following extracts:

"India's peaceful revolution demonstrated that physical force need not necessarily be the arbiter of man's destiny." . . .

"Today the weapons that physical force has are terrible to contemplate."

"India's main objectives are: the pursuit of peace, not through alignment with any major power or group of powers, but through an independent approach to each controversial or disputed issue; the liberation of subject peoples; the maintenance of freedom, both national and individual; the elimination of racial discrimination; and the elimination of want, disease and ignorance which afflict the greater part of the world's population."

"Peace is not only an absolute necessity for us in India in order to progress and develop, but is also of paramount importance to the world."

"The lesson of the last two wars has to be remembered and it seems to me astonishing that in spite of that lesson we go the same way."

"The very process of a marshaling of the world into two hostile camps precipitates the conflict which it is sought to avoid. It produces a sense of terrible fear and that fear darkens men's minds and leads them into wrong courses."

"We believe passionately in the democratic method and we seek to enlarge democracy both on the political and economic plane, for no democracy can exist long in the midst of poverty and inequality."

"We do not wish to forfeit the advantage that our present detachment gives us and we believe that the maintenance of that detachment is not only in our interest but also in the interest of world peace and freedom."

"If we seek to ensure peace, we must attack the root causes of war and not merely the symptoms. What are the underlying causes of war in the modern world?

"One of the basic causes is the domination or the attempt to dominate one country by another. Large parts of Asia were ruled till recently by foreign and chiefly European powers.

"France, Holland, Portugal still have territories over which they rule.

"But the rising tide of nationalism and the love of independence have submerged most Western Empires in Asia. In Indonesia I hope there will soon be an independent sovereign state. We hope French Indo-China will achieve freedom and peace under a Government of its own choice. Much of Africa, however, is subject to foreign powers, some of whom still attempt to enlarge their dominions. It is clear that all remaining vestiges of imperialism and colonialism will have to disappear."

"Second is racial relations. The progress of some races in knowledge or in invention, their success in war and conquest, has tempted them to believe that they are racially superior and has led them to treat other nations with contempt. A recent example was the horrible attempt, so largely successful, to exterminate the Jews. In Asia and Africa, racial superiority has been most widely and insolently exhibited."

". . . The West has too often despised the Asian and the African and still, in many places, denies them not only equality of rights but even common humanity and kindness. This is one of the great danger points of our modern world; and now that Asia and Africa are shaking off their torpor and arousing themselves, out of this evil may come a conflagration of which no man can see the range of consequences.

"One of your greatest men said that this country cannot exist half slave and half free. The world cannot long maintain peace if half of it is enslaved and despised."

"The third reason for war and revolution is the misery and want of millions of persons in many countries and, in particular, in Asia and Africa.

"The basic problem of the East, therefore, is to obtain these necessities of life."

". . . Political subjection, racial inequality, economic inequality and misery—these are the evils which we have to remove if we would ensure peace."

"We see before us vast changes taking place not only in the political and economic spheres, but even more so in the minds of men. Asia is becoming dynamic again and is passionately eager to progress and raise the economic standards of her vast masses."

". . . The problems of this awakening will not be solved by looking at it with fear or in a spirit of isolationism. It requires a friendly and understanding approach, clear objectives, and a common effort to realize them.

"The colossal expenditure of energy and resources on armaments, that is an outstanding feature of many national budgets today, does not solve the problem of world peace. Perhaps even a fraction of that outlay in other ways and for other purposes, will provide a more enduring basis for peace and happiness."

Interracial Workshop Attacks Segregation in Washington, D. C.

BOB BRASHARES*

In our capital city discrimination and segregation rule. Negroes are denied their civil rights. Twenty-three individuals from 15 states gave a month to change this. They lived and worked together interracially using non-violent direct action to break down segregation in Washington.

Led by George Houser (of the sponsoring F. O. R. and Congress of Racial Equality) this Workshop challenged strategic, especially vulnerable injustices: (1) Segregation in the Greyhound Restaurant absent in the Union Station and Trailways Terminal; (2) The Anacostia swimming pool, closed after a riot occurred when the Department of Interior tried to open it on an interracial basis; and (3) Segregation in the Trans Lux Theater, for a "trial period," admitting Negroes during "Home of the Brave"; the Maryland Theater policy in Baltimore was changed after a similar testing during "Anna Lucasta."

Segregation in Washington's churches, schools, hotels, restaurants, theaters, etc., violates Christian and democratic belief and practice; yet it continues. To end it, apparently-inactive groups such as the churches must pick strategic projects and get busy.

What was done? After testing these projects, the work-shoppers went out and spoke in community groups; got out news releases, letters, etc., to organize the action of some 20 co-operating organizations. Interviews secured public interest and moderate support.

When the Greyhound Restaurant wouldn't serve Negroes in the group, a 3-hour "wait" occurred. Then negotiations began with management. This project succeeded. The restaurant changed its policy, began serving all comers.

The pool project was tougher. The Workshop mobilized opinion and focused pressure on the Department of Interior so it discarded its plan to re-establish segregation and promised the pool would be interracial when re-opened. The Department praised a detailed Workshop plan presenting the steps necessary for peacefully opening the pool. But, the pool was never reopened.

The Theater project is still being carried on by the permanent Washington Workshop. After Workshop leaflet distribution and theater line—"waiting", management decided to negotiate. Negotiation is now underway.

Some say it takes time. It takes action! Non-violent action could accomplish much. If you're interested in knowing more about the Wash. situation so you can act, read the 1948 report of the Nat'l Comm. on Segregation in the Nation's Capital, "SEGREGATION IN WASH." You can start action by interracial living and by sending financial encouragement to CORE, 2929 Broadway, N. Y.

* MFSA youth member and workshop participant.

CONGRESS ADJOURNS AFTER LONGEST PEACETIME SESSION IN 27 YEARS

President Truman praised the results. This is news to the Negro people promised by the President and both major parties a Civil Rights program, not one iota of which has been enacted, despite the growing mob violence and growing need for federal safeguards. It is news also to the workers for whom the President and Democratic Party promised repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act—still unmodified. Congress proved loyal to our bipartisan "cold war" foreign policy, approved the Atlantic Pact and military "aid" to anti-communist regimes, adopted the most costly arms program in peacetime history. But, such loyalty was not given the welfare program for which the electorate voted. Of this program only the bills for long-range housing and a higher minimum wage were enacted. And the number of workers covered by the minimum wage was sharply and seriously reduced. "The mountain labored and delivered a mouse." See your Congressman and Senators during recess. Send them back to Congress in January to end the costly cold war and launch the neglected program for human rights, social welfare, and peace.

The Paris branch of the American Veterans Committee, which includes many Sorbonne students in its membership and uses Sorbonne halls for its meetings, was told by the University that it cannot hear American speakers unless the Embassy approves them.

RELIGION IN BRITAIN

WILLARD UPHAUS*

Church life in Britain steadily declined during the past fifty years. Five to ten per cent attend, 30 per cent favor, 50 per cent don't care, 10 per cent are hostile. The wealthy have dominated the church. The church-labor gulf has been deep. On a bright Sunday the church was no competitor against the outdoors for industrial workers.

Explanations for the gulf included lack of church welcome for the revolutionary spirit in labor and politics, and over-identification of the church with the possessing class.

But if we distinguish church interest from vital religion, the religious decline is being arrested. We met some of the men and movements responsible.

Six years ago Joseph McCulloch's church in Chatham had seven members. "I had to get rid of three of these before we could really go ahead," he laughed. Now he has two hundred, mainly youth, who accept obligation to Christian action through unions, political parties or other organizations. In 1945 he helped elect the first Laborite to Parliament in his very conservative community.

McCulloch is not just a secular radical. He opposes religion which voices merely what the people desire to hear, not what their sins require. An ardent Socialist, he thinks the new order will come not from reordering the old pieces but by changing it from its foundations.

As war-time Chaplain to workers, E. R. Wickham saw how blasphemous is religion that neglects the social order. He worked with men in the plants, made no arguments for church-going, but faced the men's pressing problems and discussed the beginnings and history of the union and the English trade union's Christian roots. "I reminded them of 'The Tolpuddle Martyrs,' and that early union oaths were based on the Bible."

Progress is slow and painful, but Wickham expects a wholly new church expression. He addresses workers on "Christianity and Trade Unions," or "Christianity and Communism." Groups grapple with social and trade union history and Marxism. A confessed Communist joins in prayer. Basic questions on Christianity, Socialism, Communism are treated without the fears so prevalent here—one more evidence that Britain may help resolve the East-West conflict. Workers in one plant voted his program 500 pounds a year.

To theological educators in England, Wickhams are thorns in the ecclesiastical flesh, seeking not to keep institutions but to make explicit the religious impulses and experiences implicit in economic and political activity.

Dr. Donald O. Soper is equally at home addressing his following Sunday afternoons in Hyde Park, defending his Christian Socialist faith in open air meetings of dock workers, or filling his Methodist pulpit.

Social Anglican Father John Groser has given 25 years to the poor of East London. He unites "passionate desire for the spiritual welfare of his people with direct, practical intervention in controversies and incidents attendant on the rise of the Labor Party." His work brings "vitalized spiritual living in East London social, labor and political activities."

The Parliamentary Christian Socialist group of one hundred holds that economic arrangements require a spiritual impulse which thrives best when we strive for new economic arrangements bringing liberty and responsibility. Chairman T. C. Skeffington-Lodge described British Socialism as "an experiment in ordered freedom." Sir Richard Acland, loyal to his religious and political faith, gave the government his 30,000 pound inheritance. They sounded more like zealous evangelists for social righteousness than staid churchmen or sober politicians. They take seriously the Amsterdam Conference's finding: Christians must seek new, creative solutions which allow neither justice nor freedom to destroy each other.

* Who led a Religious-Economic Seminar in Britain this summer.

THE UN-AMERICAN COMMITTEE

MFSA filed Amicus Curiae brief in current Supreme Court contempt cases in which the defendants challenge constitutionality of House Un-American Activities Committee. Similar briefs were filed by American Civil Liberties Union, Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice, and numerous other organizations.

You'll Want to Read:

THE EMBERS STILL BURN, by Ira Hirschmann. Simon and Schuster, New York, 1949.

Ira Hirschmann, LaGuardia's personal representative in UNRRA, toured Europe and the near East. Post-war role of the U. S. in UNRRA. Lehman and LaGuardia defended UNRRA principle of relief based on need, but relief has become a political weapon.

Well written, interesting, reveals many little known facts about our Germany-rebuilding policy, horrible DP camp conditions, and favoritism shown Polish and other anti-Soviet refugees. Many Eastern European refugees were actually fascists in Germany as war volunteers. UNRRA's mission to send Poles back to Poland was fought by London Polish government propaganda and Gen. Anders army which encouraged DP's to live on UNRRA and join the opposition government.

Mr. Hirschmann feels the death of UNRRA made the situation much worse. But he found individuals doing splendid jobs and believes it not too late to make our reconstruction efforts count for what they were intended—to promote peace.

D. M.

THE TIME OF THE TOAD, Dalton Trumbo. A study of inquisition in America by one of the Hollywood Ten, who soon challenge the constitutionality of the House un-American Activities Committee before the Supreme Court. Describes devices lethally poisonous to our democracy: House un-American Committee's operations, the loyalty oath; explores the implications of compulsory revelation of faith. Ordered from the national office, 10¢ per copy.

PROPAGANDA—HOW AND WHY IT WORKS, Clyde R. Miller. MFSA publication. Revised. Techniques moulding public opinion. 25¢ and quantity rates. (Read also: "Don't Be a Jerk," same price.)

NATIVE FASCISTS: How to Spot Them and Stop Them, U. S. War Department. How fascism is born and matures; how it develops in economic crisis, maintains itself by assaults on religion, race, political creed; and inevitably brings war; how democracy fights for security and freedom. From Army Orientation Fact Sheet 64. 5¢, MFSA office.

HISTORY OF THE METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL ACTION. Milton J. Huber, Jr. Abstract of dissertation for Ph.D. at Boston Graduate School. Gives background of the social gospel movement out of which MFSA sprung. Shows MFSA as force for progress and service in tumultuous years since its 1907 beginning. 5¢.

NOBODY KNOWS (by Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training, New York) is the dramatically told factual story of Jim Crow in our armed forces and of what you and I can do to end this segregation. It should be in the hands of every Federationist and is available from the MFSA office for 25¢ per copy with cheaper rates for quantity orders.

SOUTHERN BAPTISTS ASSAIL TERRORISM AND MOB VIOLENCE

"We look with alarm upon the resurgence of mob rule and violence in our southern regions. It can only be judged as anti-Christian, anti-democratic and a serious, insidious threat to America's leadership for world peace."

"The use of the sacred symbol of the Christian faith by hooded promoters of race hatred and bigotry is a presumptuous sacrilege and menaces the progress of world-wide Christian evangelism."

We deplore some ministers of the gospel and church members affiliated with a movement so contrary to human decency and the spirit of Christ as the Klu Klux Klan.

"We call upon Christians around the world to stand firm and without compromise of the processes of law and order." [Statement by the Social Service Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention.]

End Segregation, Bishop G. B. Oxnam asked North and South Churches at Gammon Seminary. To follow Jesus, he urged ending "segregation, injustice, discrimination, acquiescence to inequality."

Americans for Democratic Action statement signed by Mrs. Roosevelt, 13 Congressmen, and others supports President's steel fact-finding board's recommendations accepted by steel union and rejected by steel industry "in favor of profits and against national interest." They asked Truman "to speak to the American people supporting the board's findings and explaining the seriousness of the companies' refusal to accede."

From U. S. White Paper on China (p. 887)—Letter from Secretary Marshall to Under Secretary Lovett: "Paris, Nov. 6, 1948—Dr. T. S. Tsiang, Chinese delegate to the United Nations, called on me this morning with a message: Would the U. S. agree to appoint U. S. officers in actual command of the Chinese army units *under the pretense of acting as advisers?*" This Mr. Tsiang now charges the U.S.S.R. with interference in China's affairs! Mr. Tsiang directed the China organization handling American Relief Supplies—notoriously corrupt by White Paper and Kuomintang accounts.

Garrett Biblical Institute Faculty have a report, "Christianity and Communism, an Analysis", outgrowth of much study and discussion. Full statement appeared in the *Advocate*. May be secured from Professor Murray Leiffer, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill., or from MFSA. 5¢ quantity rates.

that all men might be free

(Continued from page 102)

Marxist brothers' freedom as a minority group and believe that their rights have been violated. We extend to them our sympathy and admiration for having followed their conscience." Representative George D. Sadowski, a Michigan New Deal Democrat, and a Catholic, publicly stated, "I have been afraid for a long time about this anti-red hysteria. It is used to bludgeon not only the Communists, but anyone who stands for anything different from that for which the bludgeoner stands. It might be used against anyone who supported Franklin D. Roosevelt. Entirely aside from what the Communists stand for, if a court can make them illegal, it can make any party illegal. It might be the Socialists next or the Progressive Party. It is setting a pattern whereby anyone working next to someone else can pass on gossip and make him lose his job."

Full-blown fascism threatens, but has not yet taken, post-war America. Let us fight now to save and extend our cherished democracy, a democracy in which all men of all races and creeds will be free. In defending the democratic rights of the most unpopular of our brethren, we defend the democratic rights of all. "The time is short," as Paul said. Let us speak now before that time runs out.

JACK R. McMICHAEL.

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